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LAND USE AND MATERIAL CULTURE

132 PRACTICALLY the entire length of the Frontera lies between 37 and 40 degrees, south latitude. Within this zone summers are usually dusty and hot, and winters are characterized by excessive rainfalls that turn fields into bogs and roads into successions of mudholes (Pl. V, Fig. 1). Except in the mountains, very little snow falls, and temperatures seldom go below freezing; yet the air is so damp and chill that even one accustomed to the snow and ice of winter in the northern middle latitudes finds himself cold and uncomfortable. According to McBride, most of the Frontera averages over eighty inches of rain annually, and nearly all precipitation occurs from May to September.[1] The rainy season begins late in May, reaches a climax during July and August, and tapers off in September. Each year, so local inhabitants like to tell, the drabness of winter is broken by days of warm, sunny weather that is popularly known as "the little summer of Saint John" because it is supposed to come at the time of Saint John's Day on June 24. In 1948, true enough, such a pleasant interlude did occur, except that it started about a week before the winter solstice. For the poorer groups of Indians and Chileans alike, the mid-winter months from June to August constitute a blue period because the preceding year's food is likely to be exhausted before the new crops are ready to be harvested.

137 There is a great deal of natural vegetation in the territory of the Mapuche. "The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area. . . . Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches . . . and cypress. . . . Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*)."[2] The Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*) is also common to the area and extends well up the slopes of the Andes. [162] Some of the native groups living here are known to have used *Araucaria* pifions as a staple plant food.

[1] McBride, 1936, p. 21, Fig. 7, *et passim*.
[2] Cooper, 1946, pp. 687–88.

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tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mörke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chalkaw* if salted, and *wilpad* or *ailpad* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *rewaikafkr*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*fwiñkafkr*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the one

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Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the
264 pattern of eating three times a day at fixed intervals, nor do
582 they have names for their meals. When one informant was purposely pressed into designating the meals by names, he gave the following terms: breakfast, *liwen kurü* ("early morning soup"); lunch, *ranielün kurü* ("noonday soup"); and supper, *pun-kurü* ("night soup").[10]

262 There is not a great deal of variety to the customary diet.
264 Soup or gruel is the main dish, eaten with bread whenever there
282 is any. Breakfast is taken between sunrise and eight in the morning. It usually consists of coarsely ground, unparched wheat, mixed with water, and flavored with salt and greens such as *yayo*,[11] young leeks or scallions, chili peppers, and coriander. This standard soup, to which lard may be added when available, is called *tikün kurü*. Sometimes, *chaikan* or *allpud* is eaten instead, and on occasion a change is provided in the form of an oatmeal or bran soup, *chikal kurü*, enriched and flavored in the usual way.[12]

If a man departs very early for work, he may do without his breakfast or arrange to have soup and bread sent out to him.

The midday meal is ordinarily eaten in the *ruka* between noon and three. Most often it consists of bread and a sort of succotash, *pirku*, made by cooking together beans, peas, corn, potatoes, and greens.[13] Occasionally, yerba maté is drunk at this time.

Supper is eaten well after sundown, and is much like breakfast except that those who have it drink yerba maté at night.

[10] Moesbach (1930, p. 191) reported that formerly only two meals were eaten daily. The only term for a particular meal listed by Augusta (1916, I: 65) is *kupal*, for which he gave *comida* as a translation. *Comida* may mean any meal, but more commonly it is used for supper or dinner in the evening. Latcham (1909, p. 340) said that there are no special names for their meals.

[11] *Yayo* refers to vegetables of the mustard-turnip group (*Brassica*). Additional details regarding Araucanian food usages may be found in Molina (1808, II: 105 ff.) and in Latcham (1909, pp. 340–43).

[12] Cornmeal was sometimes put in for thickening. When available, macaroni or spaghetti is now added.

[13] I was told by Mrs. Donaldson that both Indian and Chilean women usually throw away "the first water," i.e., the vitamin-rich water in which the vegetables are cooked.

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Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[32] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[33] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[34] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[35] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[36] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[32] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[33] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931a, p. 92.

[34] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Hoosse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[35] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 300–4.

[36] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

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Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

At meals women used to serve adult men first and children after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

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superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *aiwe*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuaicura, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.[a] Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kul'trufi*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

[a] By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No shame or embarrassment is felt by any party if a cup of *chicha*, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 415 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans, and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs [531] most used are chevrons, chequers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to resort to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *ponyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*luagre*) and rye (*mayu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *maki* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *cuda* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *huaihuvio*, *payuen* or wild goose, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much head to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

252 264 415 The food is served in wooden bowls and platters, the men being served first. They do not use a different bowl or platter for each individual, but the adult males sit round the bowls in groups of three or four, each one helping himself in rotation, beginning with the eldest, or with the guests, if any are present. Should the visitor be a stranger or a person of consideration he is given a platter to himself. They use wooden spoons for their meals, but latterly the tin or pewter article of commerce has been much adopted. After the men have finished, the women and children partake of the leavings in the same manner.

The platters and spoons are not washed till after the meal. To remove grease they use wood ashes.

262 A few of their principal dishes are as follows: *ticum coré*, flesh cooked with bruised wheat or maize; *puñi coré*, potatoes and maize; beans or peas boiled with grease, and various other stews in which the *motté* or skinned wheat or maize form the principal ingredient. The coast Indians also use two or three edible kinds of algæ.

The favourite meat is horse-flesh, and mutton, half cooked, but they prefer the former, seldom killing their horned cattle, which they keep for commercial and agricultural purposes.

Another common article of fare is the *ulpud*, with which the Indian concludes most of his meals, breaks his fast in the early morning, and which he takes with him on all his journeys. It consists of toasted wheatmeal, and is eaten or drunk with water which any brook or spring supplies.

264 62 The Indians take their meals at any hour, but generally at mid-day and sundown. If they feel hungry at other times, the inevitable *ulpud* is their immediate satisfier.

They have no special names for their meals.

252 The use of bread antedates the Spanish conquest, and at present they prepare different kinds from all their cereals.

The latter are ground, not by pounding but by rubbing. A little grain is placed on a flat stone, and rubbed with a smaller one, held in both hands; the operator kneeling beside the larger stone and bringing the weight of the body to bear in the operation. The meal is sometimes sifted in horsehair sieves, but is generally used entire.

No ovens are used, but the bread is baked in the ashes in the form of *tortillas* or flat cakes. A primitive leaven is prepared by the old women or children chewing the grain and then leaving it to ferment in water, or in a hole in the ground.

262 568 There is very little difference in the foods of the upper and lower classes among the Araucanos, save perhaps the quantity of flesh consumed; nor do there seem to have been any tabooed foods. Men and women eat from a common supply.

733 Like most other barbarians, these Indians are greatly addicted to drunkenness, especially since the introduction of distilled spirits. They are accustomed to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and early *Pehuenche*, relatively very meager. To judge from what we do know of the Chilotan culture, it approximated fairly closely that of the *Huilliche*. The *Picunche* and Argentine *Araucanian* cultures appear appreciably modified by non-*Araucanian* influences. The early *Pehuenche* culture differed sharply in some of its technological aspects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. In view of the foregoing facts, it seems wiser, for the sake of clarity, to devote separate sections to the various *Araucanian* subdivisions, covering first and mainly the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, and appending shorter separate treatments of the *Picunche*, Argentine *Araucanian*, and *Pehuenche* cultures.

CULTURE OF THE MAPUCHE-HUILLICHE

SOURCES

In the following list of our more important sources, mostly first-hand, on the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the numbers between parentheses denote dates of editions used in the present paper; those between brackets, the dates of first publication or of completion of manuscript; those unenclosed, the dates of observation by the respective authors. For convenience, the sources are listed chronologically.

Sixteenth century: Goicueta (1852), [1558], 1558; Ercilla (1910), [1569–89], ca. 1557–60; Góngora Marmolejo (1862), [1575], 1549–75; Mariño de Lovera (1865), [ca. 1594], 1551–94; Olaverría (1852), [1594]; Oña (1917), [1596].

Seventeenth century: L. de Valdivia (1887), [1606], 1593–1622; González de Nájera (1889), [1614], 1601–7; Bascuñan (1863), [1673], 1629; Brouwer (1892), [1646], 1643; Barlaeus (1647); Marcgrav (1648); Ovalle (1888), [1646]; Rosales (1877–78), [1674–], ca. 1629–82.

Eighteenth century: Frézier (1716); Pietas (1846), [1729], 1729; Olivares (1864), [1758–67], (1874), [1736], ca. 1700–67; Febrés (1882), [1765]; Havestadt (1883), [1777], 1743–67; Molina (1878 a), [1776], (1878 b), [1782], (1901), [1787], before 1767; Gómes de Vidaurre (1889), [1789], before 1767; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), [1796], ca. 1765–92.

Nineteenth century to 1883: Domeyko (1845), 1845; Smith (1855), 1853; Ruiz Aldea (1902), [1856], ca. 1856; Medina (1882).

1883 to present: Lenz (1895–97, 1896, 1904–10), ca. 1890–1933; Guevara Silva (1898, 1904, 1908, 1911, 1912, 1929), ca. 1898–1935; Latcham (1909, 1915 b, 1922 a, 1922 b, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1929–30, 1936 d), 1888–90, 1892–95; Robles Rodrigues (1943), [1906–14], ca. 1904– ; Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1910, 1916), ca. 1896– ; Bullock (1911), ca. 1907– ; Manquilef (1911, 1914), 1887– ; Gusinde (1916–17, 1922, 1936); Looser (1927, 1934); Claude Joseph (1928 a, 1928 b, 1931, 1933–34), ca. 1928– ; Moesbach (1936), [1930], 1920– ; Lothrop (1930, 1932), 1929–30; McClafferty (1932); Hounse (1939), ca. 1930– ; Brand (1941 a, 1941 b, 1941 c); Métraux (1942 b).

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The diet of the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* was and is predominantly vegetarian. (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 41; Ovalle, 1888, 12:157; Molina, 1901, p. 193; Domeyko, 1845, p. 58; Hounse, 1939, p. 166.) Relatively little meat was eaten, outside of feasts. Fish and other

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262 sea food formed a considerable element in the diet in the Coastal area. Most of the food supply was derived from cultivated plants. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards, all the *Araucanians* (except perhaps the *Pehuenche*: cf. infra) from the Choapa to Chiloé inclusive were sedentary farmers. That *Araucanian* agriculture as such antedated the *Inca* invasion of the second half of the 15th century is reasonably certain, since south of the Maule River *Inca* influence could hardly have given rise in so short a time to such a high development of agriculture as the first Spaniards found as far south as Chiloé.

241

Agriculture.—The following food plants were being cultivated by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* at the time of the first arrival of the Spaniards: (1) Maize, wa, *Zea mays;* 8 or 9 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 375); cultivated on Chiloé as well as mainland. (2) White potato, poñû, puñe, *Solanum tuberosum;* over 30 "varieties," according to Molina (1878 b, p. 377; cf. Buksov, 1933, p. 163, many varieties, especially on Chiloé); more than a hundred native names of "varieties" grown on Chiloé (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:559–61). (3) Kidney bean, deŋûll, degûll, *Phaseolus vulgaris;* 13 or 14 kinds, according to Molina (ibid., p. 376). (4) Squash, peŋka, wada, *Cucurbita maxima* (and *C. pepo*?) (5) Madi, *Madia sativa;* a seed-crop; an oil derived from seeds. (6) Chili pepper, trapi, thapi, *Capsicum annuum;* many varieties cultivated. (7) Quinoa, dewe, *Chenopodium quinoa;* a seed-crop; leaves also eaten (Molina, 1878 b, p. 376). (8) Oca, *Oxalis* sp.; root-crop cultivated earlier in Chiloé and Llanquihue; two varieties cultivated, according to Latcham (1915 b, pp. 149, 154). (9) Magu, maŋo, mango, *Bromus mango;* a seed-crop resembling our rye; bread made from grain. (10) Teca, tuca, thuca, not identified botanically; superficially resembling our barley; bread made of grain. (11) Peanut, maní (from *Arawak;* no native *Araucanian* name), *Arachis hypogaea;* thought by Lenz (1904–10, 2:475) to have been introduced by the *Inca;* by Latcham (1936, p. 192), in post-Contact times. (12) Strawberry, kelleñ, llaweñ, *Fragaria chiloensis;* both cultivated and wild used. (13) Huequen, hueguen, not identified botanically; a seed-crop, superficially resembling our barley.

Of the foregoing, maize was the most important food staple among the *Mapuche*, but among the mainland *Huilliche* potatoes were apparently of near equal importance with maize, and among the Chilotans of much greater importance. This relative importance seems to have persisted down to the present. Potatoes were recently the chief food of the poorer Indians in the Río Imperial area (Coña, in Moesbach, 1936, p. 99).

Teca, huequen, and oca are no longer cultivated; the cultivation of teca had been abandoned as early as Molina's time in the middle 18th century. The last specimen of magu was collected in 1837 in south Chiloé. Quinoa was reported under cultivation in Chiloé as

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meat was highly relished, but was not eaten except at important social or religious feasts.

The horse was adopted very shortly after the middle of the 16th century. Some horses were stolen from Pedro de Valdivia; 10 others were gotten as spoils of war at the defeat of Alvarado in 1555. Lautaro was seen on horseback in 1556. By 1562, the more general use of horses was under way. Thefts of horses thereafter were common. By the beginning of the 17th century, the *Mapuche* were making

FIGURE 71.—A *Mapuche* saddletree, saddlecloth, and stirrups. (After Smith, 1855, p. 200.)

much use of cavalry in warfare, although many were as yet not such expert riders, and many were thrown from their mounts in actual fighting. Saddles were earlier made of light wood, saddle cushions of wool, stirrups and spurs of wood, bits of wood or whalebone, and reins and headstalls of hide or hemp (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 114–15). As time went on, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* became accomplished and habitual horsemen, as they are today (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 44–49). The triangular great-toe stirrup (fig. 71) of cane was also used (Smith, 1855, p. 199). The lasso, used with great dexterity by the modern *Araucanian*, was probably introduced and spread

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with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44).

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chilotans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paracinetus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Piures) were sought also for food.

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; ponchos and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 150); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Olivares, 1874, p. 365). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rincún; Housse, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 158; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or rayo; and parched, or mürka. From the first was made a bread, kofke, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked in ashes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 342 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of huequen, teca, mango, and lanco. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.)

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

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842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

863 866 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

[262 304] 861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children [276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan 762 (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufú. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41).

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44).

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Mariño de Lovera (1865), 1562–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance.

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources.

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 288) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement

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262 241 411 342 292 222 421 171

repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century*, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche;* for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 759.

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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex. 842

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy. 787 842

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[3] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. *"What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!"* 775 845

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Cañaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman must not eat jaiba (ranfim), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy. 262 843

[3] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

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262 843 184 In Alepúe area, also, a pregnant woman must not eat apples, honey, or chili; not at any time are she and her husband to eat the double yolk of an egg, for "it will make them the parents of twins." Collaripe informants were interested and amazed to know that Araucanians in Alepúe area had the above beliefs. "We have no such beliefs here and I have no faith in them," said one. "I know, for instance, that I have eaten two yolks of one egg, and so has my husband, and we have no twins."

843 A pregnant woman must not look about too much, for she may happen to see something that will frighten her and may cause her to have an abortion or a premature delivery. An expectant mother will have a difficult delivery if she lifts the cover off a boiling kettle or places it on one. The unborn child will adhere to her uterus. She may, however, put prepared food into a kettle of boiling water and also stir boiling food. If no one else is around, she will ask even a small child to lift or replace the cover. She will also have a difficult delivery if she sits on anything made of wood, such as a bench, chair, or log—her child's head will grow out of proportion if she does. According to Cooper's sources she must not stand on the threshold of the ruka (1946, p. 732).

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, PROCEDURE, CELEBRATION, FUMIGATION, BECOMING THE BIRTH

844 Birth is spoken of as "to have a baby" or "to have a new baby." Both Araucanian and non-Araucanian informants were certain that the child was always born in the house ruka and not in a temporary shelter. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 732), the woman retired to a temporary shelter near a stream or the sea when labor pains began; to give birth within the family ruka was thought to bring evil upon those who lived there.

Persons present at a birth are the woman's husband and children

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PLATE 1

Views of Araucanian country in Chile

133 241 797 1. Alepúe area: Burnt-over lands, plowed field at right, ruka with adjoining fenced-in garden and nearby fenced-in potato patch, growing land, and wheat field; Río Malleco and its valley in the distance, and the Pacific Ocean beyond. 2. Collaripe area: Pasturelands of an Araucanian in the foreground, Catholic mission buildings in the distance, and the Andes in the background. 3. Pangipulli area, the western end of Lago Pangipulli in the Andes: Pasturelands in the foreground, Catholic mission, wheat fields on the hill at the right, and Volcano Shoshuenco in the distance. 4. Boroa area, looking north toward Río Cautín: Pasturelands, plowed hills, and river bottom.

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231 been nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

[426] 233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to [242] Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent 177 times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [422] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to leave any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, champinos and lienzo—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lienzo and champinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent men, a disease that causes them to lose their

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sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and venow are no longer seen in the areas; deer, rarely. Tigers, venow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepúe spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chileans. [262]

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed under a bolstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Panguipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pigeons at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the jilguero and the chanchito. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait. 223

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were mullets, flatfish, porgies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, and, later, of hemp; with ponchos and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canelo. Hunting for whale was not reported. 226

Alepúe area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (kuíkuiken), sierras (sawfish), and robalo (kudwa). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, *1*). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepúe area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, *3*), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are lunhuan, tineo (unidentified), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available. [251]

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

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252 415 stances. Occasionally a chaiwe, like all baskets, is used for storage; chaff-free uncooked wheat and toasted wheat were seen so stored.

Baskets with handles (kiilko) (pl. 46, *4*) are used for carrying and for storage; trays (llepü) (pls. 44, *2*; 46, *3*), for winnowing wheat, dried beans, and peas, or "anything that needs to be winnowed."

222 ●262 Cooper writes regarding noncultivated food plants which were part of the Araucanian diet: "The number of distinct species of wild plants exploited, a good many of them intensively, as food sources was very large, totaling probably a good 75 to 100." One of his sources, an Araucanian, listed nearly 50 plants. Antiño plants listed by Cooper are roots and tubers, rhizomes of a fern, fruits and berries, apples (post-Columbian), nuts, seeds, leaves and greens, mushrooms and algae (1946, p. 702).

In all the areas I visited, non-Araucanian herbalists knew that wild plants formed a substantial part of the Araucanian diet today. Children like to eat fresh berries and uncooked fruits and roots of certain plants, and many were seen at school with teeth blackened from the blue-black fruit of the maqui and the berries of michai and chakaiwa. They also relish the fresh fruit of miñihue, chaura, and chupón. A child will reach into the spiney bush of chupón, get hold of a blade near its roots and pull it out, draw the root end between the teeth to sever the fruit, suck the juice, and spit out the seeds. "Their juice is sweet; just try some." Children are also fond of eating the peeled, uncooked root of the rhubarblike ralca, and the stem, just above the root, of a large fern called helecho grande.

[252] The core and the stem of the helecho grande is dried, ground fine, and boiled in water (or, recently, in milk), and eaten as a thick soup. In Panguipulli, wild plants cooked in meat broth or in stews are green leaves of yuyo and dried powdered flowers of cirsuelillin. Tubers of the wild potato (papa), are sometimes collected, but those of lleuli, and of kuiñiñ (not identified) are no longer used. The wild potato is often crossed with cultivated ones by putting pieces or small whole ones of both kinds into each hill. "In another season this mixture produces a large potato, sweeter than the ordinary cultivated one. If the wild potato is planted alone, it does not produce well," said the informant.

252 263 Tomillo, a wild plant, is used as a condiment. So are two cultivated plants borrowed from Chileans—peppermint (yerba buena) and oregano. The most common condiment is a mixture of salt and chili. Today salt is bought in Chilean stores, but Cotlarijpe informants remembered when it was obtained from Araucanians who lived where it was found in caves. Families along the Pacific formerly cooked in

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the salty water of the ocean, and this is still done today, if the household supply of salt has run out.

The nut of the araucaria—a tree found in the Andean valleys—is eaten by children; seldom by adults. Everywhere pigs, released from pens, were seen running their snouts through grass under the trees in search of these nuts. "We know where ripe ones are when we see where the pigs are enjoying them," said a little girl. The nuts of the Chilean coniferous pine, known as the araucaria (pl. 37, 3, 4) have always been a favorite staple food. When the wheat crop is insufficient, "like this year" (1947), said the Cañaripe informant, "they are almost a necessity." Families set out for the araucaria groves after the wheat has been harvested. The araucaria is found on the slopes of the Andean Cordillera and on a ridge of the Coastal Range between the rivers Bío Bío and Itata, at a height of about 3,000 feet. By the time a tree bears cones, it is from 75 to 150 feet tall, and the cones will be far beyond the reach of man. When the kernels have matured, some fall to the ground and others are shaken out of the cones by strong winds. Cones never empty entirely at one time. The greatest harvest, however, will come when the season has so far advanced that the small green parrots, which were a pest when fields and gardens were being seeded, return in flocks. These land on the trees and peck the cones for kernels for their own consumption, causing all the ripened kernels to fall to the ground where they can be gathered by man. If there is an abundance of kernels, those not needed for home consumption are sold to Chilean stores. "Chileans, too, like these nuts."

A 50-year-old Cañaripe man told the following regarding araucaria nut harvesting: "The araucaria grow in groves of varying numbers; groves are usually some distance apart; one might be here where I live, another at Lake Pehuén [40 minutes' walk], another halfway between these two, the next one at Lhenehue [an hour's walk], and so on. Up in the Cordillera, just opposite the Volcano Villarrica, there is a grove, and three ruka have been built there; that is where I take my family. In another place not far from there, is another grove with seven ruka. We have built several ruka in each grove, the number depending on the size of the grove. A man may take his family to one of these groves, and find that all the ruka there are already occupied. If there is still room for his family in a ruka already occupied, they may sleep in it, but build their fire and do their cooking outside. If there is no room, the man will find a ruka in another grove. Families do not gather nuts under the same trees each year; anyone can go any place he wishes to. The time to leave home to collect the nuts is when the

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wheat has been harvested, usually this is in April. Strong winds begin at this time; early falling of nuts depends upon the wind. May, too, is a good month, but after May, snows come, and one cannot find the nuts; if not all have been collected because of early snows, they can be gotten in October when the snow melts. Chileans eat the araucaria nut uncooked; very few Mapuche do. Mapuche remove the hulls by roasting the nuts in hot ashes and coals—this causes them to pop out of their hulls—or we boil them in water, after which the hulls are easily removed by hand. If the harvest is large, we roast them and string them and hang them up in the rafters. Later they are boiled and eaten. They are not mixed with anything. They are a rich food, and one cannot eat many at one time. A nut is about so long" (indicating the distance from tip to first knuckle of little finger).

Wild honey is collected from trees and used in sweetening foods, but every household today supplements it with sugar bought in Chilean stores. Quoting a 19-year-old Cotacipe girl: "My father gets wild honey today like the Mapuche have always gotten it, he told me. On a windy day, he walks among the trees on the mountainsides and looks for a tree around the top of which bees are buzzing. A few steps away from the foot of this tree, in the windward direction, he builds a fire. The wind will take the smoke toward the tree then. Bees cannot tolerate smoke, and so they either fly away, or die. When there are no longer any bees about the tree, he fells it, splits it in halves, lengthwise, removes the honey and brings it home." The girl's mother then told that at home the honey is put into clayware and is set close to the fire to be thoroughly heated, after which it is set to cool. The wax which collects at the top while it is cooling is removed. If foreign substances, such as leaves and twigs, are seen in the honey—"maybe the bees had a difficult time getting the honey, for bees can be mean"—the honey found of its were is again thoroughly heated and then strained through a suspended cheese from which the honey drips into a container placed below it.

Of cultivated plants wheat is the essential one; it is a basic food in the Araucanian diet. Four traditional dishes are prepared from it: tortillas (chapalcahuiñe), mote (lahue kochiñe), catutu (mahtun or mut'u), and toasted wheat (kopawiñeu).

Tortillas are made of flour mixed with water, eggs, and salt. A handful of dough is flattened to desired thickness by being tossed from hand to hand and is then baked directly on or in hot ashes at the fireside.

Mote is a favorite dish. "It is exclusively a Mapuche dish," said a woman; "every mother sees to it that all her daughters learn how to

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252 are freed of hulls. Chaff and ashes are then winnowed off and the kernels poured into a chairwe and thoroughly washed at the source of drinking water to remove all ashes. The kernels are then boiled in clear water, drained of all water in a chairwe, and kept warm near the fire until mealtime when the woman will mash the kernels with mullet on metate and form the whole into a flattened cigar-shaped roll, also with the mullet. A cutnito may be 7 inches long and 3 inches in diameter at the middle. If it is then prepared for serving in the old way, the whole cutnito, or crosswise slices of it, are baked under hot ashes at the fireside; a more recent way is to fry slices in lard.

Toasted wheat is a favorite dish of children, who eat it mixed with a little water sweetened with sugar or honey. Adults prefer it cooked in salted water and mixed with grease. When preparing to toast wheat, clean sand is obtained from the shores of running water, put into a kettle (formerly an olla) and set directly into the fire. When the sand is "as hot as it can get," kernels of wheat are added and the wheat and sand continuously stirred with two wooden spoons, one in each hand. Kernels turn brown and burst open and come to the top. As soon as they have browned to one's liking, they are skimmed off with a small wooden dish and poured into a large wooden one. While one person continues to toast, another shakes the large dish gently back and forth and sidewise, slightly tilted away from himself. The shaking brings the kernels to the top; the tilting allows them to fall off into a container.

An older procedure for toasting wheat—one no longer used—was to put the wheat into a pottery container known as a laye, made especially for the purpose, and then adding exceedingly hot sand. Stirring was as described above. As the kernels were toasted, they fell over the edge of the laye, which was slightly tilted; the sand being heavier remained in the laye. Dexterity was required in manipulating the stirring, however.

[262] Potatoes (papa) are an important food. They are eaten baked, boiled, and fermented. To bake them they are well heated on hot coals in the fireplace and then each is placed into a small hole dug in hot ashes. Potatoes so baked are called kuen pofil. Boiled potatoes are generally eaten in thick soups and stews, such as caldos and curanfos, or are boiled with fresh vegetables. Near a ruka, peas just brought from a garden were shelled, cooked, and poured into a kettle in which potatoes and meat were boiling; a mixture of salt and chili was used to season the food. Some families eat boiled potatoes well drenched with meat drippings.

A favorite traditional dish is furu pofil, fermented potato. Most

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families ferment potatoes. It is done in the following manner: At the time of the potato harvest, a man and his older sons find a place at the edge of a brook where flowing water can be either diverted or dyked off until they have dug a hole and filled it with potatoes. The size of the hole depends on the potato crop. "Ours is usually about so wide [double arm stretch], if the crop is good." The bottom of the hole and all sides are lined with one or several layers of ratonero, leaves of maqui, or ferns—none of which affects the flavor of the potatoes. As soon as the hole is lined, it is well filled with potatoes cleaned of all dirt, and then covered with the same kind of vegetation used in lining the hole. All is weighted down with stones, and the water then led back to its course, to flow over the potatoes. In due time, the water will have seeped to the bottom of the hole and surrounded all the potatoes. As the potatoes ferment, scum rises to the top and is carried away by the brook. A minimum of two months is required for fermentation in Alepúe area; in Collaripe area, only a month. Informants thought it took less time in Collaripe area because the valleys there are warmer than those of the Coastal Range. Occasionally someone of the family goes to the place to see if all is in order and to test the potatoes. A few potatoes are removed. If they are white and floury (chuño or liq pofii) they are ready to be eaten; from then on a supply is taken when desired. They are thoroughly washed of slime that has collected on them, and are eaten either raw or cooked in water—sometimes in sweetened water. Peelings may be removed before or after cooking. On the day the above information was obtained, the interpreter happened upon a woman in a potato hole. She was handing out potatoes to several Araucanians at the rim who were buying them from her. She had a special variety, a long white potato which, the woman said, is best for fermenting. 252

Beef, mutton, lamb, pork, and chicken are staple meats today. An occasional dish is the meat of wild birds, principally the jilguero and chanchito. Less frequently the meat of puma is eaten. Horse meat has never been a staple food, but occasionally it was eaten at the marriage feast and at burials. Dog meat was never eaten. 262

Mutton and lamb are the meats most frequently eaten. Beef comes next. Chicken is an in-between dish. Pork is eaten when a pig must be killed to replenish the lard supply. Lard is stored; so are tallow of beef and mutton. Meat is not stored, but a supply beyond the needs of the day of slaughter is cut into pieces and slung over the fire raft or hung on hooks over the fire to dry and be smoked. In hot weather it may be rubbed down slightly with salt before being smoked. Such meat is eaten within a few days following slaughter. [251]

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252 lard. When sufficiently cooked, it came to the top and was removed by the woman's sister with a spadelike wooden implement (rafwe).

Butter and milk are not part of the Araucanian diet; there is not even an Araucanian word for either—Spanish words are used when speaking of them. Cheese, known by the Spanish word queso, is eaten by many families today. The making of it was undoubtedly learned from non-Araucanians. The evening preceding cheese making, cows are corralled near the ruka so that they can be milked in the morning. An Alepúe woman took two pails of whole milk still slightly warm (or if it had cooled, she heated it a little) and poured into it, as rennet, the water she had drained off a fermented sheep stomach. The stomach had been in water close to the fire, but not boiling, since the morning of the previous day. In place of water whey is sometimes used. "The stomach was one I had dried over the fire and stored." The milk thickens as soon as rennet, whey, or water is poured into it. After an hour the mixture is worked with the hands, and is then poured into a sack, "like a flour sack," and hung to drain. By the time the dripping ends, the cheese has formed. It is then washed in salted lukewarm water or a mixture of salt and chili is worked into it to one's liking. This done, it is again poured into a sack and pressed between two boards. Heavy stones are used as weights. After two days the cheese is removed from the sack and exposed to air and sun so as to give all sides a thick covering.

262 Fish and shellfish, according to Cooper's sources, formed part of the Araucanian diet, along the Pacific in the early days (1946, p. 705). They are an important dietary element in Alepúe and Boroa areas today; and to some degree fish, but no shellfish, are eaten in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, where they are taken from fresh waters of Andean streams. Fish taken from the Pacific are the corbina (kolüküken), the sierra (sawfish), and the robalo (haddock; kuñwa). A species of mackerel (kaukí) is taken in Andean streams.

252 Entrails of fish are removed by fishermen upon landing; heads are removed at home. In large hauls women assist with the cleaning. Fish are either cooked in water seasoned with salt and chili, or are baked or roasted. If baked or roasted, the lining of the visceral cavity is rubbed with salt and chili. Baking is done directly on coals in the fireplace—the fish are not rolled into leaves. Roasting is done by hanging the fish over a fire from a leaning stick which has been poked through the back of the fish. An oversupply of fish is sun-dried or slightly smoked and eaten soon thereafter, cooked with salt and chili.

Women on the Pacific coast prepare favorite shellfish dishes from loko, machu, mañihue, ariso, and piure. Loko are dropped into boiling

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water, and when the shells drop off, they are removed and strung on a strand of ñocha for easier handling—"they are very slippery animals." They are then twirled around in hot ashes at the fireplace, and each one is well pounded with a maul or a stone. After this the ashes are washed off and the loko is either fried in deep fat, roasted directly on hot coals, or cooked as stew. If a larger number has been collected than can be eaten at one meal, the surplus, after having been ashed and pounded, is either sold fresh to non-Araucanians or is prepared for drying for future use. In both cases stringing must be more carefully done to preserve them: the round end of one loko must touch the narrow end of the one next to it, which is tipped with a hard shell-like substance; if round ends touch each other they will pack and spoil. So strung, they are hung on the raft of the fireplace to dry. Araucanians will eat them cooked in stews. Non-Araucanians serve them in several ways: deep fried, cut into small pieces and cooked with vegetables as stews, chopped fine in empanadas, or pickled in vinegar and onions and served as an entrée. 252

Mañihue are sometimes baked in the shell in the fireplace; more often they are boiled in water until they leave the shell. Being tender, they need not be pounded like the loko. If eaten immediately, they are deep fried or cooked as stew; if not, they are prepared and dried in the same manner as the loko. An Araucanian family gave shelter one stormy night to my interpreter and a companion, both non-Araucanians away from home. For their evening meal the woman in the ruka fed them mañihue. "The little heads with the horns had not been removed," commented the interpreter. "My companion said those little horned heads unnerved her. *I* insisted, 'We must eat them or we may offend those people.' But she managed to pinch them off and slip them to the cat."

Ariae are baked in their shell in contact with hot coals. When well done, the upper part of the shell is cut off, and the substance eaten from the remaining shell. Piure are eaten from the shell, also. They are either baked on hot coals or well boiled in water. "Piure are very good to eat," said a little girl; "they have sea water inside of themselves. They are a pretty color, too, after they are boiled."

Seaweeds used as food by families living near the Pacific are luche and cochayuyo. Luche grows to a height of about 2 inches on the tops of rocks close to the shores of the Pacific. "It looks as though it had been mowed there." It is easily pulled off and is collected when the tide is low. It is prepared for eating by rolling it into leaves of nalca to form small bundles. Each bundle is tied tight with strands of ñocha, then put into a shallow hole made outside the ruka, covered [222 262]

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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 787 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 645 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

893 262 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One women will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

893 784 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called machi was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days most of wild animals was the main food. Chief among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was steamed guanaco lung, known as epull. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make epull today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; epull is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted shoulder in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, gaulá, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grains—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (*ngüen fio*). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (*pl. 74, f*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

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lagoon in the River Negro," said another old man. "I went there one time with others, when I was young, and we brought home sackfuls on horseback. Sacks were of hide then. That was long before there were any trucks in this area." 263 317

In the early days grease was used less frequently than it is today. Any animal fat may be used, but horse grease is a favorite. 262

Eggs of chicken and waterfowl were eaten raw or cooked. If raw, they were either sucked through an opening at one end of the shell or the shell was completely emptied into the mouth at one time. Today, chicken eggs are eaten raw, scrambled, fried in grease, or cooked in an empty rhea eggshell—as many as a dozen chicken eggs can be cooked in such a shell. 252

Rhea eggs were, and are today, scrambled in their shells and then cooked in them. One end of the shell is peeled off, the yolk and white stirred into a mixture with a stick, and salt added to one's taste. The shell is then set close to the edge of the fire, and either the contents stirred with a little stick at intervals or the shell repeatedly turned to insure thorough cooking. "A well-cooked rhea egg is delicious, but it takes a long time to cook one," said an old woman. "When our men return from sheep shearing—they are now shearing them on the estancias—they will bring with them some rhea eggs." She then told the following: "People look for rhea nests today in fenced-in areas on estancias; it is not difficult to find a nest, but it is difficult to get the eggs. There may be as many as 30 eggs in a nest. A nest is about so big [of feet in diameter]. Let us say a man is riding around on horseback looking for a nest. If he is not alert, he may come upon one before he knows it. Now, let us say the rhea is off the nest feeding—you know it is the male that hatches the eggs; but the female is always close by. The rhea sees the man on horseback come close to his nest. He will become so angry that he will run at full speed against the man's horse, either throwing the horse down or frightening it into a dangerous runaway. Should it happen that the male bird be on the nest when the rider gets near it, he will kick the eggs in all directions to break them. The male rhea has a bad temper. The only time a person can pick up an egg is when he is on foot and only while the male is a little distance away finding food for himself." She added that in every nest there is a small unfertilized egg which was laid last. As soon as the eggs are hatched the female takes over. She picks upon the unfertilized egg, which by now has rotted, and lets it ooze. Flies soon come to feed on it, and they form the first food of the young rhea. 252 825 [222]

Wild grains used as food in the early days were quinoa and wild 262

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262 barley (kawella); cultivated grains were wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa). In later years oats (huinca kawella) were added to these.

252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a muller on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catuto, milke, koñako, mote, iwiñ afün, and kofeñ. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catuto was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a muller on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make milke, grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a 4-cornered piece of pottery, known as lupe, made for the purpose. As the hulls of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the lupe. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the lupe was emptied into a külko, a sievelike basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a ulepol (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mote was wheat cooked in water with ashes of chakai. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. Iwiñ afün was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. Kofeñ was toasted wheat kernels. Koñako was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of napur (unidentified), leaves of watercress (berro), roots and tops of apio or chirivia, and roots of achicoria. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

[m] Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them (fuxa poñi) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes (lofke poñi) were grated and allowed

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to settle. The water that collected was poured off and handfuls of the potatoes squeezed to free them of any remaining water. The mass was then eaten either raw or slightly cooked.

Nuts from the cones of the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) were a staple food for families who lived where the tree grows. Families from other areas, too, migrated annually to collect them for their own consumption. Today families collect them for sale—at the time the present study was being made, several Quilaquina families went to Chinquilihuen to do so. "They pick kilos of them; we buy them from these people." Large groves of the araucaria are still found in Pulmari between Lake Traiven and the Magdalena Valley, and in the areas surrounding Lake Alumine, Lake Huechulafquen, and Lake Curruhue Grande. Small groves and scattered trees are found at Lake Meliquina and Lake Carnero. The tree bears its first nuts when about 25 years old, and it takes 2 years for them to ripen. The nuts, white and almondlike and nearly the size of dates, are either roasted or cooked in meat stews. To roast them they are strung on a thread of sinew and hung at a little distance over the fire. In days when they were used as food by all families they were dried in sun and air and stored for future use.

Wild apples (*mammea silvestre*) were dried on racks over fireplaces and then eaten both cooked and uncooked. This custom prevails today. An extra supply is stored.

Among implements used in preparing and serving food in the early days were ollas, cántaros, metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, plates and bowls, cups, knives, pichañas, spoons, lupe, baskets, and winnowing trays.

Ollas (challa), large-mouthed pieces of pottery, were sufficiently fired to be used in cooking. They could be placed directly in the flames of the fireplace; not so cántaros. Cántaros (metawe, pl. 76, 1), large, narrow-mouthed pottery pitchers with one or two handles, were only sufficiently fired to be set in hot ashes or at the edge of the fire. Food could be simmered but not cooked in them. Cántaros were also used for storing food and for carrying and storing water. Ollas were always plain; cántaros sometimes resembled animals and were decorated. A pig-shaped, blackish-colored cántaro (pl. 76, 1) found in a grave in Pulmari, and now in the collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin in San Martin de los Andes, is 8 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 4 inches in diameter at the opening. A duck-shaped one (pl. 76, 1), found in a grave in Huechulafquen, is 7 inches high, 7½ inches at greatest width, and 3 inches in diameter at the opening.

In 1930 workmen building a road found approximately 50 cántaros

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RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

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used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*montículos de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *ñilhue*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working on half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*segadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately registered by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucania (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *küllatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "Asaso pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *küllatun* ritual, which is said to be *penado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1955, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 313 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 13 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an inquilino (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various reducados makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 96 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about ten per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Limitations: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Limocoman. Of a total of 1555 hectares, approximately 180 are

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Of a total of 353 hectares, approximately 188 are cultivated, 90 are vega and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the rest either vega that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the baja land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is arbore, but the ratio of vega and woodland to cleared baja is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is arbore and the vega that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Tolten region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on arbore. In the baja, potatoes and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amounts as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher than in the Rehue Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 3 or 4:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 67 horses, and 154 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in hillsheep than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the reduccion, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and chuchu, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Tolten River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *konu* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konus* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *muko*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household upon request (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Muchas* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of chicha or *muchas* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another ñillatxawgawg, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if chicha is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [585] [583]

On accepting the animals presented him by the weupife or weupin (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared, they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, mafutun is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires possession by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes several rights in the [584]

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SG5 SG9 events of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

SG5 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillaethawgawg* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the [SG3] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep [SG9] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *ruka(l) wajitún*, in Spanish *visita nueva*.

171 SG4 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's [SG3] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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cemetery. It is from this select group that the official *weupin* (also orator) are chosen, usually by prearrangement on the basis of closeness or type of kinship bonds and familiarity with the deceased's personal history and family connections. There is always one *weupin* from the wife-giving and the wife-receiving groups, and in their case the selection is usually unanimous and perfunctory.

F64

It is customary for all present to look upon the dead person as he lies in the uncovered coffin on the *katü*. Many people do not wish to see the exposed corpse, however, and are reluctant to approach the coffin until it has been closed or is about to be closed. Close relatives and some of the others drop coins and other small articles into the coffin, but the inclusion of the deceased's personal belongings—shoes, hat, ring, trinkets, etc.—is a more formal matter (called *rakiñ*) performed by the surviving spouse or eldest sibling, to whom the prized objects were entrusted. Accompanying the belongings of the deceased is

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always a small packet of food. Food is considered a token gift for the spirit's trip to the afterworld, and consists of a few small pieces of meat, bread, fruit, and the like. Supplied in this manner, the spirit will almost surely leave for the world of the dead, rather than be tempted to linger near his house.

On one occasion I witnessed, these items were forgotten until the coffin had already been lowered into the grave. The coffin was reopened and some food placed on top of the corpse. Presumably, the omission occurred because the corpse was in an advanced state of decomposition, causing the mourners to hastily cart the coffin to the burial grounds after the formal *weupin* had been delivered. This incident illustrates the importance attached to the inclusion of food for the journey of the spirit and its escape from possible capture by the forces of evil. It also underscores the notion of ritual perfection involved in funeral ceremonies.

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While the coffin is on the *katü* in the ceremonial field, the mourners partake liberally of the food and drink supplied by the immediate relatives of the deceased (men) or the widow. There is always someone ready to pour wine or *chicha*. Meat is amply provided. The first helpings of food, especially lamb meat, are served by the hosts in special portions to the matrilineally

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country.

After the parlamento a grand banquet was given by Chocoque to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Chocoque sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise.

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Mananas, but the chief part more to the northward,